

A Funeral Oration

As Delivered in the Church of the Holy Dividends, in Bond Street, with a Chorus of Unsolicited Responses by Rank Outsiders.

Dear friends, a mighty man hath joined the Blest.

Chorus: A mighty man indeed, but—let him rest!

A man of works and faith, a man of force.

Chorus: Who lied, broke faith, and robbed without remorse.

A worthy life was his—a life of toil.

Chorus: His noble aim in life was boundless spoil.

Steel-nerved, lie builded railroad, ship and mill;—

Chorus: And rained all who dared oppose his will.

How sweet and mild the inner life he led!

Chorus: The tiger, too, is mild when full-fed.

How kind he was a thousand friends will say.

Chorus: He fed his jackals fat, so well they may!

His faults? Be still! His faults we leave to God.

Chorus: And teach our sons to tread the way he trod?

What wealth he gave our grateful hearts confess.

Chorus: His very charity was selfishness.

He filled a million shelves with learned tomes;—

Chorus: And builded palaces on wrecks of homes.

His gifts to church and college ever grew.

Chorus: He robbed the poor to help the well-to-do.

Upon these walls his name shall be inscribed!

Chorus: The Church may take, but God remains unbribed.

—Arthur Guiterman in Puck.

Lincoln and Wealth

DA TARBELL, in a recent issue of the *American Magazine*, quotes Lincoln as follows: Speaking of the Northern army, Lincoln said:

"The hope of this war is in the common soldier, not in the generals—not in the war department—not in me. It's the boys. Sometimes it seems to me that nobody sees it quite right. It's in war as it is in life—a whole raft of men work day and night and sweat and die to get

in the crops and mine the ore and build the towns and sail the seas. "They make the wealth, but they get mighty little out of it. We ain't got our values of men's work figured out right yet—the value of the man that takes the orders and of the man that takes 'em. I hear people talkin' as if the history of a battle was what the generals did. "I can't help thinkin' that the history of this war is in the knapsack of the common soldier. He's makin' that history just like the farmers are makin' the wealth. We fellows at the top are only usin' what they make, at any rate that's the way I see it."

Who Is the Demagogue?

WHENEVER you hear a man called a demagogue today, the chances are ninety-nine to one that he is the man trying to interfere with somebody's special privilege, trying to check somebody's "licensed and legitimate" stealing.

Some of our prosperous and "eminent" citizens will tell you that the man who advocates the income tax is a demagogue.

Others like him will tell you that the demagogue is the man who tells working people that they should unite and protect themselves and try to get their share of prosperity.

The political boss, corrupt to the core, will tell you that the demagogue is he who advises voters to cut away from the old parties that buy them and sell them. He will tell you that the demagogue is the man who advises the voter to vote for himself.

Still others, well meaning, will tell you that the demagogue is a vile creature who arranges "class against class," because he tells the poor, the worried, the wretched, that they ought not to be satisfied; that they ought not to bend upon their knees and thank Providence that they are allowed to live at all.

The best sample of the actual demagogue that we have today is the professional politician, the man who works up a false enthusiasm at election time, who writes a lying platform that neither he nor the candidates believe, who tries to use the ignorance and credulity and listlessness of voters to promote his own interest.—Arthur Brisbane.

"THE MILLS OF MAMMON," a novel by James R. Brower, is the hottest story ever. YOU WANT THIS BOOK. It digs to the roots of our social sinning—exposes the WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC in words that burn, and goes after INDUSTRIAL ANARCHY in a way that will delight you. IF YOU BLOOD IS RED.

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The Christian Socialist is unique among Socialist papers because it is both revolutionary and religious, both scientific and ethical in its appeal and makes its plea particularly strong to religious men. It has won hundreds of ministers and other religious people to Socialism. It is intensely interesting to all classes of people. Many agnostics declare it to be the best propaganda paper in the Socialist movement.

It is entirely non-sectarian and interdenominational, working among people of all creeds. There have been a number of notable special editions, among them a Presbyterian, a Baptist, a Methodist, a Protestant Episcopal, a Temperance and a Catholic Special. You need it yourself and for propaganda. See what you can get for several sample copies. See page for the paper a whole year. Address 613 Drexel Avenue, Chicago.

From the Log Book of An Old Man 'o Wars Man in Uncle Sam's Navy

(Written for the HERALD.)

DECEMBER 10, 1885
The United States Corvette Galena 3. Rate, Commander Colby M. Chester comes to an anchor in the bay off Aspinwall, United States of Colombia.

Dec. 11, The United States minister to the United States of Colombia comes on board with his family and as he comes alongside in our gig which went ashore to get him, a salute is fired in his honor. Rumor says we are to take him to Cartagena from where he will go to Bogota, the capital. But we old salts know nothing, we are only here to obey, to work and keep the ship clean, and we are not consulted or informed.

Dec. 12. Up anchor for Cartagena. The weather is fine but a heavy ground swell is on from the gale a few days ago and so we ride quite heavily. See nothing of the minister or his family, so guess they are paying tribute to old Neptune.

Dec. 13 and 14. During the morning watch of the 14th land was reported and at 7 bells in the dog watches we came to an anchor in Sabanilla bay. The captain had decided not to run into Cartagena because we were getting short of coal. We anchored away out on the outside of the bay at what is called Verry's Anchorage, under the lee of a low reef which makes a good breakwater. We found two steamers and other small craft at anchor here farther inside. After supper lowered steam and sail launches, hauled fires. Everything seems to indicate a long stay here. But we before the mast never know anything about the plans or destiny of the ship.

Dec. 15. Spurred down rigging and squared ratlines. Ships side got ready for painting. Awnings spread fore and aft. It's so hot we have to keep the decks wet down to prevent the pitch from coming out of the seams.

Dec. 16. Painted outside of ship and tarred down standing rigging. Afterwards holystoned decks and cleaned up generally.

Dec. 17. After quarters this morning had battalion drill. Afterwards all hands were called to muster and two apprentices, who had dared to talk back to one of the officers and had been tried by a court martial, had their sentences read to them. For gross disrespect to their superior officer they got thirty days on bread and water, with full rations every fifth day. Here it's keep your mouth shut, swallow everything, forget you are anything but a common sailor whose lot is to obey.

At 8 bells of the dogwatches the French Ram Bonvet which we had met at Aspinwall came in and anchored away inside on the other side of the bay.

Dec. 18. The North East Trades have freshened into a stiff gale. Usually at this time of the year in these latitudes you have no trades and when they do blow it's a gale. It's blowing great guns so the other bower anchor has been let go and we are riding safely behind the reef on which the heavy seas are breaking themselves into foam.

Dec. 19. At daylight the Frenchman signaled through the international code: "Steamer ashore mouth Magdalena river, assistance necessary." Hoisted all boats. Hove up port anchor. Lit fires. Got ready for sea. Wind gone down some, but still blowing fresh. At 2 bells in the forenoon watch the Bonvet steamed out. She had been lying with fires banked so could get up steam quicker. Soon after we hove up the other anchor and followed. Outside in the open we met a heavy sea so that we took considerable water on board occasionally. About 8 bells as we steamed along the coast we began to pass barrels, boxes and casks floating about which formed part of the cargo of the steamer that had been thrown overboard to lighten her. By 6 bells in the afternoon watch we came in sight of the steamer.

Her captain had mistaken the mouth of the Magdalena river for

Endorsements of R. A. Daguer's Pamphlet, "What Is Socialism?" Major I. N. Chapman of Alameda, Cal., surveyor and civil engineer, writes: "Your pamphlet, 'What Is Socialism,' is most excellent. It ought to find its way into the hands of religious people throughout the world. God said 'let there be light' your pamphlet will spread the light."

Hon. D. W. Higbee, attorney-at-law, Creston, Iowa, writes: "I am not a Socialist, but I think your pamphlet, 'What Is Socialism? What Is Capitalism?' is probably as strong a statement of Socialist doctrines as can be made."

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the entrance to Sabanilla Bay during the night and had in consequence run aground on the bar at the mouth of the river. The steamer was lying some two miles from the shore in 12 feet of water and as she drew 14 feet she was two feet in the sand.

The wind was still blowing a moderate gale and a heavy sea came rolling in. The steamer lying broadside on, sometimes when a heavy sea struck her the spray would fly in white sheets clean over her as high as her smokestack. The Frenchman was quite close to her and with one of her boats tried to run a line to the steamer, but the muddy current of the river was so strong, that no boat could stem it and boat and line were swept seaward and picked up again with difficulty.

The sea and current being so strong no boat could go alongside of her, but our whaleboat with the boatswain in command got near enough to hail her and learned that she was the steamer Historian of Liverpool from Boston to Sabanilla and Colon (Aspinwall). Darkness coming on the whaleboat returned, was hoisted and we came to an anchor about three quarters of a mile from where the steamer lay.

Dec. 20. This morning at daylight the whaleboat was again lowered and proceeded to try and get near the steamer. On account of the current no line could be sent in her, that was fast to the ship, but we signaled to the steamer and they on board bent a line onto a cask which was floated by the current to where the whaleboat could pick it up. While they were doing this we hove up our anchor and moved in closer. When the whaleboat had picked up the cask they cut it adrift and fastened the end of a light line which they had in the boat to the line brought by the cask and as they pulled toward the ship continued to pay out this line. The third cutter had been lowered and with a line from the ship met the whaleboat, the two lines being fastened together the connection between the ship and the steamer was complete. The current, however, was so strong that this small line could not stand the strain and parted, so we had to begin all over again. The anchor was again hove up and we carefully moved to within two cable lengths of the Historian where it was let go again. When the Frenchman had found he

could not run a line with his boats he had left already the evening before, so we had to work alone. And it was hard work. The sea ran high and on account of the current and the presence of numerous sharks very dangerous. Volunteers were called for to man the boats and out of these only the best seamen were picked. They went into the boats barefoot, stripped to trousers and shirt so as to be ready to swim in case the boat should get swamped. The tropical sun shone hot and soon blistered the skin where this was not protected. None of the officers cared to go into the boats, none volunteered, their lives were too precious and they stood safely on the decks of the ship shouting directions. The ship rolled and pitched heavily and with our old fashioned capstan with which the men had to walk around, it was hard and hot work heaving up the anchors and heaving in the cable from the steamer.

When we had come to anchor again the experiment with the cask and boats was repeated and this time the line held. A six inch hawser was bent onto the line and hove in by the steamer with her steam winches. Then she bent a steel cable onto our hawsers and we had to leave this in with our manpower capstan. After the steel hawser was in and made fast to our bits the steamer began to heave in on it. It was dark by this time and all through the night the steamer kept heaving in little by little. The wind freshened again and the sea rose dangerously so our position became dangerous in the extreme. All during the night we stood watch and were ready for any emergency. Toward morning when daylight began to appear a much heavier sea than usual swept over and under the steamer and as she had been backing continually since she had got aground this lifted her clear and she hacked away. She came past us and we manned the rigging giving her three rousing cheers which her crew returned.

Dec. 21. After the Historian was clear we weighed anchor and went back to our anchorage at Sabanilla bay. The minister with his family, who had nearly all died of seasickness and who didn't want to stay on board any longer, were put ashore.

We spent Christmas here and about Jan. 1, 1886, returned to Aspinwall. Here we met the Historian at anchor. Her captain paid us a visit and brought a whole boat load of wines and whiskeys, together with other good things. Fair minded reader, perhaps, you will think it a matter of course, that these gifts from the Historian captain were divided among the crew. But if you think so you are mistaken. These went to the officers only and the captain got the largest share. The men before the mast and in the boiler room, who did the work, got nothing. The captain of the Historian asked permission from our captain to divide a sum of money among us. But the captain refused, saying "that we were paid by the government and only did our duty, it would spoil us if we got an extra reward."

Now, mind you, if it had been a merchant vessel that had rendered the assistance our ship did, there would have been a heavy claim for salvage, which could have been as much as half the value of the steamer. For her position and that of the ship helping her was extremely dangerous. And if help had not arrived she, no doubt, would have been a total loss. But our ship being a man-of-war, we could not charge salvage. It was therefore no more than fair if the owners through the captain of the steamer wanted to show their appreciation of our work by making us a present. And we had earned it, too, although to one of the crew would have thought of an extra reward if the captain of the Historian had not offered it himself. But our captain did not want any of the crew to get anything. So what did the owners of the Historian do? They had a fine solid silver punchbowl made with a suitable inscription engraved on it and afterwards when we had returned to the United States, but few of the men forward ever saw it and later when the ship went out of commission what did this noble captain do, who said the crew were paid by the government, as though he wasn't; he took this punchbowl with him home and kept it for his private use. Now you can see that even on the blue ocean the worker need expect no appreciation, nothing more than his bare wage. Under the rule of the capitalist class, the honor, the reward is not for the man who does the work, it's for him and him alone who wears brass buttons, who by chance of birth is in command.

The captain had no more right to this punchbowl, than had the meanest sailor or coalheaver on board, for it was presented to the ship, not to the officers or a part of the crew, but to the ship, which meant all on board. Yet, when the ship went out of commission the captain, instead of turning this

shelter of doss-houses at night. In the provinces, barely five thousand out of ten earn a decent livelihood."—Page 282. "The Confessions of a Physician," by M. Versaoff (written in 1901).

DIVISION OF PRODUCT.

WITH regard to the distribution of national income, Sir Robert Giffen, thus summarized the conclusions to be drawn from the papers on the "Progress of the Working Classes in the Last Century" read by him before the Statistical Society in 1883 and 1886:

"Whereas, fifty years ago the working classes of the United Kingdom, amounting to nine millions, earned in all about 171 millions, or 19 pounds sterling per head, the working masses, now amounting to 13 millions, earn about 550 millions, or nearly 42 pounds sterling per head, an increase of much more than 100 per cent.

"When the increase of earnings from labor and capital are compared, it is found that the increase from capital is from 100 to 400 millions only, or about 100 per cent; the increase from the working of the upper and middle classes is from 154 to 320 millions, or about 100 per cent; and the increase in the income of the manual labor classes is from 171 to 550 millions, or over 200 per cent. In amount, the increase due to capital is about 210 millions, to labor of the upper and middle classes 166 millions, and to labor of the manual labor classes 379 millions, a total increase of 755 millions." (Essays in Finance, by Sir Robert Giffen, second series, second edition, page 472), quoted by Paul Leroy-Saulieu in "Collectivism," page 25.

ONE CAUSE OF BOOZE.

In his "Confessions of a Physician," M. Versaoff, a Russian doctor, says, speaking of his struggle for existence in St. Petersburg in his post graduate days: "I gave up all hope of obtaining a salaried position and entered myself as a supernumerary at one of the hospitals. I often found myself in greatest want; in the evening I used to trim the 'fringes' of my trousers and mend the rents in my boots with black thread; I used to envy my patients when ordering them extras, because I myself subsisted mainly on bread and cheap sausage. During those hard times I experienced and came to understand a phenomenon which was formerly quite beyond my comprehension—how one could take to drink through hunger. At that period, whenever I passed a public house, the latter had an irresistible attraction for me; at such moments I used to think of the height of bliss to step up to the brilliantly illuminated bar, covered with tempting 'zakuski's' and to toss off a glass of vodka; strange to say, half-starved as I was, the spirits attracted me more than the eatables, although I was never a dipsomaniac. When I had a rouble in my pocket, I could not resist the temptation, and got drunk. Never before or after, when I was properly nourished, did vodka have any fascinations for me." (Page 67.)

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There is no wealth but life.—Ruskin.

punchbowl over to the department, kept it. So you see everywhere where the capitalist class rules there are two standards to measure men's conduct by. The rich can do almost as they please, while those unfortunate who are forced to labor for others are punished for the most trivial offenses.

Young man or boy, when you read the enticing posters or advertisements, for men and boys to enter the naval service, you should think twice before you sign your liberty, your manhood away. Don't imagine you are going to serve your country. Your country, say how many square feet of it can you call your own? You will serve the capitalist class only and the members of this class who will be in command will take all the honor, all of the reward. In time of war you will be food for cannon, you will be permitted to fight and die for the country you do not own, and when you are done fighting you will first begin to realize, that you are just as poor as when you began, that the country you fought for, which you gave the best years of your life belongs not to you, but to those who remained carefully at home and made money out of your misery on the battlefield, to the capitalist class, whose possessions you so foolishly fought for to protect, whose country you fought for only to find, that all you have is the rheumatism, the syphilis, and the worn-out body left you as a reward. But it's your own fault if you sign; who would be so foolish as to fight for possessions, for a country no part of which you can call your own?

During so-called labor troubles, when honest toilers are striking for a better wage or more decent conditions of life; when they are battling for a more fair distribution of the wealth they by their labor create, you may be landed with your comrades and ordered; if your officers see fit, to shoot on your fellow toilers, though among them may be your father, brother. Therefore I say, don't sign, don't give your liberty, your health, your life to your oppressors. Let them man their warships themselves. Let them fight for the country they own. If they cannot get foolish workingmen to man them, how soon they will stop building dreadnaughts. For if the capitalists and the capitalist politicians had to man their own ships and do their own fighting, how soon they would be howling for the disarmament of the nations, for universal peace. So long as they can get others to fight for them, they will continue to find a cause for war out of which to make a profit.

At a profit.

UNEMPLOYMENT

A NEW BOOKLET ON THE BIGGEST PROBLEM

Written by SENATOR GAYLORD

Senator Gaylord, introduced, at the last session of the Wisconsin legislature, a resolution, in the form of a petition to congress, asking for immediate action to relieve the unemployment problem in this country.

Of course, the resolution was killed. The Republicans didn't want to know anything about it, for fear they might "recognize Socialism"—and the Democrats followed suit.

In searching for data on the subject, so as to present the argument as fully as possible, Senator Gaylord found a surprising scarcity of material available on American conditions. He began to start inquiries in every direction, however, and replies began to come in.

Meanwhile the Senator was invited to debate the subject of "Unemployment and Socialism as its Remedy" with John Basil Barnhill. Mr. Barnhill did not know much about unemployment, or Socialism, either, but the debate gave Comrade Gaylord occasion to probe deeper into the question.

Finding such a scarcity of information on the subject, and no Socialist book or pamphlet bearing directly upon it in detail, he decided to give the American comrades the immediate use of what material he had already secured—meanwhile continuing his investigations.

The forty pages of this pamphlet are packed with information, gathered from state and national bureaus of labor, foreign reports, and such facts as could be secured from American labor organizations.

The pamphlet deals with Seasonal Unemployment, Industrial Displacement, The Chronic Unemployed, The Panic and The Industrial Reserve Army. The returns from Wisconsin are given with especial accuracy and completeness.

We have heard much of unemployment, and most of us know what it is to be "out of a job." But this little work sets forth the fact, and the Socialist argument based upon it, with startling clearness.

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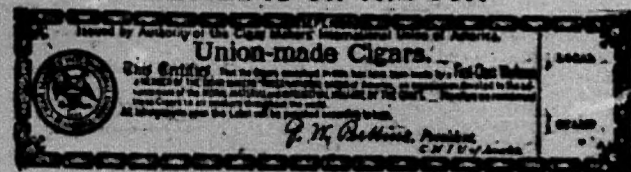
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Air Brakes a Timely Subject

Even the Steam Railways Now Have Them

Are so Universal That the Country Marvels That a City Like Milwaukee Goes Unprotected.

By William Henry Forber
[Written for the HERALD.]

It is useless to rehearse all the contention and strife which brought about the application of the air-brake to the railway passenger and freight cars, so that nowadays you may see all cars on the great systems of railways equipped with this new device, whether it be on the Boston and Maine railway or on the Southern Pacific system.

The steam roads have killed enough brakemen and crushed and crippled enough others to make a regimental line standing side by side from Milwaukee to Chicago. If all the other living cripples were placed at the end of the brakemen's line and the corpses laid side by side, the line would extend to the Ohio river.

Before the patent car coupler was used, at least one brakeman was killed every day, and another was maimed, or permanently injured; so that about 100 railway employees were killed or maimed each year. Statistics show this.

Since the air-brake and the coupling device have come into general use, I seldom see a railway employee, unless he is an OLD-TIMER, who has lost his fingers or a hand in some accident.

The railways did not willingly put on the air-brake and the safety coupling; nor did they willingly adopt the Cook switch, nor the signal light. All these were forced by legislative enactment, backed by the requests of the American Railway union, or by organized bodies of trainmen. Sometimes they got some backing by concerns like the Westinghouse Air-brake company, or some concern who had some safety device to sell; but seldom did the railway men or the public get any help from any wealthy person, from humane and altruistic promptings only. It was always for cold cash, rather than from a sense of justice to public demands.

Just now the "best people" in Milwaukee (and that means the Social-Democrats, and those who aid them) are fighting for air-brakes on the city street railway cars.

It seems queer that it should be necessary for the people to fight for such a necessity, for everybody (with any sense) knows that a motorman who has an air-brake appliance on his car can stop a car in case of necessity on very short notice, while the old hand-brake will not control a car in time; and, therefore, the accident can seldom

be averted; even though the motorman tried to the best of his ability to avert the disaster.

Many thoughtless people blame the carelessness of the motorman. They should blame the railway company, for the traveling public pay for the cars, and roadbed, and all the appliances, and fine officers, and the salaries of the officials and employees, and for all the boodle which buys aldermen and mayors, legislators and courts; also all the interest on the watered stock.

In San Francisco the head of the United Railways has been indicted by a grand jury for buying an overhead trolley franchise for \$200,000 from the "boodle board," in May, 1906.

Mr. Patrick Calhoun, who occupies the same position in the United Railways, which Mr. John I. Beggs holds in T. M. E. R. & L. Co., is now awaiting trial for a second time; the first being a mistrial—well, largely because—because Pat is the possessor of \$4,000,000.

San Francisco has only a few cars with air-brakes. Several of the lines which run over mountains could not be operated without air-brakes, so new cars were purchased with the appliance, because the franchise purchased from the boodle board included the provision in the franchise that air-brakes must be provided on certain lines.

Now, I will say that the cities of Chicago, Milwaukee and San Francisco have the poorest street car systems in the United States.

Portland, Ore., and Los Angeles would sniff at such a miserable system as I have I. Beggs is giving you, and which you still tolerate and can't shake off.

In 1899 you were about to solve the railway problem in Milwaukee, but about that time your business men saddled another "business administration" upon you, and the result was that about that time a Rose blossomed out, and soon thereafter a beautiful "bouquet" was handed to John I. Beggs in the shape of a thirty-year blanket franchise, and the public has never learned how much GOOD FERTILIZER was added to the flower pot in which the lovely Rose of the David Stewart variety has grown. No, he has never told me this; although he once told me: "I signed the franchise on the clerk's desk as soon as the council passed it."

Well, nearly everybody knows that from that day on the Rose has blossomed out until it became the greatest American Beauty Rose, whose fragrance was enjoyed in Milwaukee, and whose fragrant odors scented the desert air of Arizona as well; but the people—who have paid fares to the Beggs company have since been told "If you don't like our service, you may walk."

You Milwaukeeans will for the next score of years pay tribute to the greedy railway corporation, because you didn't know enough to run your own railways and produce your own light. I am surprised that some few of you discovered in time that it paid to pump your own water.

Well, you will learn, and twenty-one years hence, when John I. Beggs' big franchise expires, the babies who are born today may learn enough of economics to run the railway and the light plants and other utilities, which you were afraid to tackle in 1900.

As a secret, I will add that James J. Hill was afraid to touch an electric switch or button when he built his big new mansion in the early nineties, but big Jim never was afraid to touch railway securities. So, you see, dear readers, it is only a question of education after all. Jim Hill is no longer afraid of an electric switch or button. So you will become educated to handle municipal utilities as easily as you now turn door knobs.

The people of the Mexican border states, knowing the atrocities of the Mexican government, are greatly agitated over the proposed love feast of Taft and Diaz at El Paso, and the cause of the Mexican refugees is strengthened daily. Mother Jones has recently been holding immense meetings in San Antonio. John Murray of Chicago, secretary of the Political Refugee Defense League, is on the scene. Resolutions of sympathy with the Mexican revolutionists are being passed by many labor organizations.

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A Prophet Without Honor In Other Countries

The German Leader Kautsky Flays Sam Gompers' "Policies"

In the following article we have made use of the translation from the German, by Henry Kuhn, as it appeared in the N. Y. People.

GOMPERTS, the president of the great American Federation of Labor, has come to Europe in order to study, so he says, the labor conditions of Europe and to initiate closer relations between the American and the European trade unions.

At the meeting, held by Gompers in Berlin on July 31st, to speak about the trade union movement, he, strange to say, prevented the comrades who were present from finding out with whom they really had to deal, by simply designating any question as to how he stood towards Social-Democracy as "IM-PROPER" and "PERSONAL."

This being so, Mr. Gompers must consent that others answer the question for him.

Gompers is not only an opponent of the specific form that the Socialist movement has taken in America, but is an opponent of the proletarian class struggle as such. To appreciate his views, one must know, not only what he tells his European friends, but also what he says to the American public.

Let us only hear what he declared on the day before his departure for Europe at a farewell banquet in New York. This banquet was in itself characteristic. Besides representatives of labor organizations there had come quite a number of representatives of capitalism and its glad-hand men (Handlanger), among them the district attorney of New York. Before these, he explained that he was going to Europe to study, to see whether there the "so much praised methods were really the correct ones."

But, he added, that he already knew that these methods were wrong.

At this point Kautsky quotes from the speech of Gompers, delivered at the banquet. He cites the president of the A. F. of L. as saying that the kind and the manner of European labor politics are thoroughly disheartening; that shortly after the convention of the Federation he (Gompers) had got in touch with sundry labor organizations and governments in European countries and had asked them to afford him an opportunity to declare himself on conditions in those countries at a meeting wherein all factions of labor organizations and representatives of the government would be present; that shortly he had received, from Budapest, Hungary, two letters, one representing the workers, the other the government, and that both almost in the same words had declared that such a meeting could not take place because the relations between labor organizations and the government were not such as to make possible joint deliberation or action; and that herein seemed to him to lie the kernel of the nut. In America the representatives of labor and of the government could always come together to deliberate; that on the very evening of the banquet one could see the living proof thereof; none had been received by organized labor more heartily than the District Attorney of New York City, and that things must be so.

For all that, it cannot be assumed

The Principles We Advocate

Human life depends upon food, clothing and shelter. Only when these are assured are freedom, culture and higher human development possible. To produce food, clothing and shelter, land and machinery are needed. Land by itself does not satisfy human needs. Human labor gets its materials and food out of the soil by creating machinery and using it upon the land. Whoever has control of land and machinery has control of human labor, and with it of human life and liberty.

Today the machinery and the land used for industrial purposes are owned by a rapidly decreasing minority. So long as machinery is simple and easily handled by one man, it does not make its owners so powerful that they can dominate the sources of life of the masses. But when machinery becomes more and more complex and expensive, and requires for its effective operation the organized effort of many workers, its influence reaches over wider and wider circles of life. The owners of such machinery become the dominant class.

The masses in Subjection.

In proportion as the number of such machine owners compared to all other classes decreases, their power in the nation and in the world increases. They bring over larger masses of working people under their control, reducing them to the point where muscle and brain are their only productive property. Millions of formerly self-employed workers thus become wage slaves of the industrial masters.

The more the economic power of the ruling class grows, the less useful does it become in the life of the nation. The overwhelming bulk of the useful work of the nation falls upon the shoulders of the classes that either have no other productive property but their manual and mental labor power—the wage workers—or that have but little land and little machinery outside of their labor power—the small traders and small farmers. The ruling minority is steadily becoming useless and parasitic.

A bitter struggle over the division of the products of labor is waged between the exploiting propertied class on the one hand and the exploited, propertyless class on the other. In this struggle the wage working class cannot expect adequate relief from any reform of the present order from the dominant class of society.

The wage workers are therefore the most determined and irreconcilable antagonists of the ruling class.

They are also the class which suffers most from the curse of class rule. The fact that a small number of capitalists is permitted to use all the country's resources and social tools for their individual profit, and to make the production of the necessities of our lives the object of their competitive private enterprises and speculations, is at the bottom of all the social evils of our time.

Modern Industry Planless.

In spite of the organization of trusts, pools and combinations, the capitalists are powerless to regulate production for social ends. Industries are largely conducted in a planless manner. Through periods of feverish activity the strength and health of the workers are mercilessly undermined, and during periods of enforced idleness the workers are frequently reduced to starvation.

The chaos of this chaotic system of production are the regularly recurring industrial depressions and crises which paralyze the nation every fifteen or twenty years.

In its mad and reckless race for profits the capitalist class is bound to exploit the workers to the very limit of their endurance and to sacrifice their physical, moral and mental welfare to its own insatiable greed. Capitalism keeps the masses of workers in poverty, destitution, physical exhaustion and ignorance. It drags their wives from their homes to the mill and factory. It snatches their children from the playgrounds and schools and grinds their slender bodies and unformed minds into cold dollars. It wantonly disfigures, maims and kills hundreds of thousands of workmen annually in mines, on railroads and in factories. It drives millions of workers into the ranks of the unemployed and forces large numbers of them into beggary, vagrancy and all forms of crime and vice.

Public Intelligence Corrupted.

To maintain their rule over their fellow men, the capitalists must keep in their pay all organs of the public powers, public mind and public conscience. They control the dominating parties and, through them, the elected public officials. They select our executives, bribe our legislatures and corrupt our courts of justice. They own and censor the press. They sway our educational institutions. They own the nation politically and intellectually, just as they own it industrially.

The struggle between wage workers and capitalists grows ever fiercer, and has become the only vital issue before the American people. The wage-working class, therefore, has the most vital and direct interest in abol-

persian "confidence" in for the ruling class.

It becomes urgent to quickly gain new prestige, and thus Gompers suddenly bethought himself of his international duties, which had hitherto sat upon him rather lightly.

He speculated on the strength of the international sentiment of Europe's proletarians and on their limited understanding of things American. If he left the vice-president of the Imperial Union in America, and came only as the president of the powerful labor federation, he would have to be met with general enthusiasm. This enthusiasm, meant for the class organization of the American proletariat, he could, on his return to America, counterfeited into a jubilant endorsement of his own policy. What is intended as moral support of the proletarian class struggle, he can exploit as moral support in the work of laming the class struggle, by means of his idea of the harmony of interests between Capital and Labor. What is to stimulate the struggle for emancipation, shall contribute to discredit America's Social-Democracy, in that Gompers points out that it stands isolated in the world; that the Social Democrats of all countries had acclaimed him and his policy, without a voice of protest, and had thereby repudiated the American Social-Democracy.

In short, Gompers wants to soft-soap the workers of Europe in order to gain the prestige, which he needs to continue the soft-soaping of the workers of America.

Should Mr. Gompers again experience the need of presenting himself to the workmen of Germany, the comrades will know where they are at.

I do not, as stated, advise that Gompers be treated impolitely. But if he wants to propagate himself and his method and would busy himself to "enlighten" us, then, though he should be quietly listened to, we should not shut the mouth of such comrades as would like to know more about the American Imperial Union and its vice-president.

If Mr. Gompers really wants to "revolutionize" the labor movement of the old world in accordance with his "sacred principles," he must do it over and above board.

The comrades, however, should at all times bear in mind, in regard to him, that every hand that is moved to applaud Gompers, is raised to deliver a blow in the face of our American brother party, which has not a more dangerous, nor more venomous foe than Samuel Gompers.

as unconstitutional and are thus enabled to nullify every inconvenient law for the protection of the workers, which same they do perform conscientiously. Only recently did the Supreme Court of Ohio declare invalid a law which prohibited night labor of children in factories. A decision of the highest court has declared as unconstitutional a Federal law, under which the railroads were made responsible for accidents to their employees, due to negligence of the roads. In the South of the United States, there prevails as yet the complete freedom in the exploitation of women and children, and the factories there repeat to-day, en masse, all the infamous and ghastly practices of the factory bells of Lancashire during the thirties and forties of the past century.

A bourgeois, philanthropic organ, "Charities" [New Survey], in New York, published at the beginning of this year, an investigation of Pittsburgh conditions, that is, of the "most prosperous" community in the world, the results of which were condensed in the following points:

[Here follows the account of the inhuman condition already familiar to our readers.]

Despite the poor political training they have received, the American workers themselves are beginning to open their eyes to Gompers' servile ideology; they are beginning to get ripe for Socialism. Gompers, whom Legies praised so much because he united the workers, does not shrink from splitting the workers in order to maintain his power. Thus he has expelled from the Federation of Labor, in 1907, the Brewery Workers' Union, 40,000 strong, because they were honeycombed too much (for him) with Socialist elements.

But the like of that alone did not suffice to master the rising rebellion; he had to attain a great political success and therefore he determined to utilize at the presidential election of last year, the entire political power of the Federation for one mighty blow.

He set up a program of four points and, with it, turned to both of the two big capitalist parties, the Republicans, the party of the big capitalists, and the Democrats, the party of the little capitalists and of all sorts of social quackery, led by the charlatan Bryan. Without having been authorized, in any way, by his organization, he promised its support to that one of the two parties which would accept his four points.

More modest one cannot be; not even was there a demand made for securing the right to boycott, which the law also forbids. These four demands prove how miserable has become the condition of American workers in spite of all political freedom. Indeed, had not the courts even dared to declare trade union organizations illegal, as for instance in Ohio, where the trade union of the glass workers was designated as a "trust," and it was ordered to dissolve this trust!

But, notwithstanding his modesty, and in spite of the mighty power of two million votes, controlled by the Federation of Labor, Gompers had no luck. The Republicans could dare to turn him down contemptuously. Bryan was wiser and more polite; he expressed sympathy with Gompers' demands, without outspokenly endorsing them and that was sufficient for Gompers to pitch in for Bryan with every seal, to commit the Federation to the candidature of Bryan, to disregard all "neutrality" and to antagonize the Socialist candidate, Debs, with all the means of mendacity and slander, as becomes a vice-president of the Imperial Union.

Election day came and, lo and behold, the "success" of this "positive effort" was a crushing defeat. The electoral aid of the Federation had failed to materialize; during the election it had dispersed, politically, instead of uniting its votes upon Bryan.

The workers can exercise political power only in a party of their own. In that alone does their action attain oneness and force. "Kite-tail politics" as the policy of supporting capitalist candidates is called on the other side, creates in the ranks of the workers political lassitude, indolence and confusion; their votes are frittered away, neutralized one another and cease to have an effect.

So great and so notorious was the discomfiture of Gompersian tactics at last year's presidential election that it seriously shook his position.

This would have become at once manifest, had he not, in the nick of time, had the luck to become a "martyr."

After the election, in December, 1908, the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia had sentenced him to one year's imprisonment, because in the "American Federationist," published by the Federation, a boycott notice had appeared! Also a contribution to the practical necessities of Gompersian "confidence."

The next result of this sentence was that, in the ranks of the militant workers, all criticism against Gompers was silenced. Even the Socialists, but recently so sharply attacked by him, declared that they stand behind him in his conflict with the courts.

But this halo could not last, the less so since the courts remanded, in good time, how useful the Gompersian "confidence" was!

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58 The Herald Is Not Responsible for Opinions
of Its Contributors

Official Paper of the Federated Trades Council
of Milwaukee and the Wisconsin State Fed-
eration of Labor

Entered at the Milwaukee Postoffice as Second-Class Matter, August 20, 1901.

The clash struggle in the state of Washington goes merrily on, to the humiliation and injury of the entire movement.

The convention of the Jewish Agitation bureau will be held in Philadelphia, on September 5, 6 and 7. According to Secretary Kaufman, this session will have about twice the number of delegates that has attended any previous convention.

Freeman Knowles, of Deadwood, S. D., member of the national committee, and editor of *The Lantern*, is now confined in the Pennington jail, having been convicted in the United States court upon a trumped up charge of sending scurrilous matter through the mail, the charge being based upon an article which appeared in his paper more than a year ago. He would have been let off with a fine, but as a matter of principle, he refused to pay the fine or permit his friends to shoulder the burden for him.

The national convention of the Finnish Socialist Organization of the United States, held in Hancock, Mich., was very successful. Delegates from as far west as Arizona, California and Washington, and east from New York, Massachusetts and Maine, represented the Finnish Socialist movement. National Secretary J. Mahlon Barnes and Victor Waria, national secretary of the Finnish organization, were present at the convention. A new constitution was adopted, in which the executive committee was enlarged from five to seven; the agitation and organization districts were given control over affairs in their respective districts. The next convention will be held in 1912. Conventions thereafter will be held every four years. Every party organ and the Workers' college is entitled to one delegate to national conventions.

The immigration bureau of the department of commerce and labor has ordered the deportation of all but three of the refugees who reached Nome, Alaska, after passing through the Bering straits, in skin boats, in their escape from Siberia.

In a letter to Simon O. Pollock, attorney for the Political Refugee Defense League, Commissioner-

General of Immigration Daniel J. Keefe stated that the cost of living, etc., was extremely high in Alaska, and that a large expense would be put upon the United States government if the men were not sent back at once.

A protest was made against this decision, a decision rendered regardless of a request of the attorney for the league, that time be given in which to file a brief showing that men were political offenders only.

Word now comes that the protest has had its effect, and that the inspector of immigration at Ketchikan, Alaska has been instructed by wire to investigate the cases further and to defer deportation of the men until such investigation is made and the attorney has time in which to file a brief.

The league attorney is also looking after the interests of three Spanish refugees who reached this country from Barcelona on the steamship Buenos Aires, and are threatened with deportation.

Dates for National Organizers

John W. Brown—Sept. 12 to 18, Pennsylvania.

Victor Bolko—Sept. 12, 13, Webster, Mass.; 14, Utica, N. Y.; 15, Rochester; 16, 17, Buffalo; 18, Erie, Pa.

John P. Burke—Sept. 12 to 18, New Hampshire.

James Connolly—Sept. 12, Springfield, Mo.; 13, Belton; 14, Kansas City; 15, 16, 17, Independence; 18, Richmond.

John Collins—Sept. 12 to 18, special trades union propaganda in Ohio.

L. G. De Lara (Spanish)—Sept. 12 to 18, Arizona.

George H. Goebel—Sept. 12, Barton, Md.; 13, en route; 14 to 18, Danville, Va.

A. Litman (Jewish)—Sept. 12, Madison, Wis.; 13, 14, 15, Sheboygan; 16, 17, 18, Superior.

Lena Morrow Lewis—Sept. 12 to 18, Kansas.

Anna A. Maley (woman's national organizer)—Sept. 12, 13, Pittsburg, Pa.; 14, 15, Rochester; 16, 17, New Brighton; 18, Beaver Falls.

Dan A. White—Sept. 12 to 18, special trades union propaganda in Connecticut; 17, 18, Rhode Island. J. Mahlon Barnes, National Secretary, 189 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.

Our Women's Circle

Conducted by Elizabeth H. Thomas, 344 Sixth Street, Milwaukee, Wis.

Rights of Parents

OF all lies against the Socialist movement, there is none that bobs up so persistently as the old dope that Socialism "would destroy the family." You may think that you have braved this ancient falsehood under mountains of good and convincing arguments. Not at all. Again it pokes out its shameless little head from under all this sound logic. It has been satisfactorily answered and triumphantly refuted times without number. But still some capitalist politician, often with a shady family record of his own, or some capitalist-minded priest, who has no family, can always be found to trot out this worn-out humbug and repeat it over just as solemnly as if it were new or true.

And then he grinds out a long homily on the rights of parents to their own children, all of which nobody doubts or denies.

Did I say, "nobody denies?"

Ah, I was wrong.

The very system which these professed friends of the family are defending—the capitalist system—

denies the rights of parents in the most cruelly cynical fashion imaginable.

"Many times," says John Spargo, "I have heard fathers and mothers—in the North as well as in the South—say that they did not want their children to work, that they could have done without the children's wages and kept them at school a little longer, or apprenticed them to better employment, but that they were compelled to send them into the mills to work, or lose their places."

Imagine the feelings of these parents. They perfectly comprehend what child labor means, what it means to their little ones to be forced in their infancy under the yoke of the capitalist. They know that the children's little bodies will be stunted, their little faces will grow pale and wan, their tiny forms bent, their limbs perhaps deformed. The parents know that the Great White Plague has an especial fondness for children workers. They know that the great iron teeth of the machines have an especial appetite for children's flesh—that they often tear away the fingers, the hands, sometimes the

American Heroes Again—By Robert Hunter

(Written for the HERALD.)

HOPE Mr. Charles W. Eliot, August Belmont and other gentlemen of the Civic Federation, are reading the papers these days.

The true nature of the scab is becoming known. Some of the distinguished members of the federation consider the scab as a hero.

To them he is a strong, honest, independent, liberty-loving American. He will not bend the knee to the tyranny of trade unions.

He intends to fight against the slavery of the unions and insist upon his right to work when, where, and how he pleases. That's Mr. Eliot's idea.

But I hope John Mitchell, who is now employed by the Civic Federation, will mark the Associated Press dispatches from McKee's Rocks, Pa., and beseech Mr. Eliot and Mr. Belmont to read them.

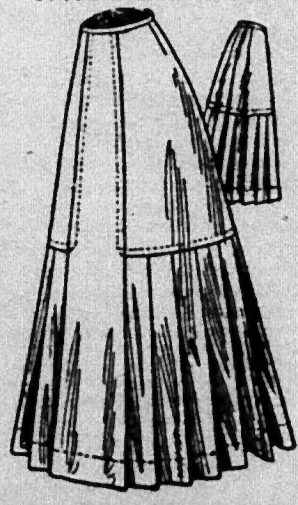
It appears that several hundred men had been picked up by the Bowery to serve as strikebreakers

lives of these little toilers.

The parents know all this. But they cannot save their own children. They are "compelled"—in this land of the free—to "send their children to the mills or lose" their own employment. So they must deliver up their little ones to this Moloch or see them starve before their eyes.

Have any of the gentlemen who are so nervous about the Socialists "breaking up the family" and about the infringement of parental control—have any of them uttered one word of protest against this

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at McKee's Rocks. Some of them were poor, helpless bums, others were ex-convicts and criminals.

One was a member of Monk Eastman's east side gang—a thug, burglar and cutthroat. This collection of American heroes were hidden away in box-cars, under the guard of detectives with rifle in hand.

They were secretly shipped into the works at McKee's Rocks on the promise of plenty of whiskey, good food and high wages.

But the heroes were deceived, and when they got to McKee's Rocks, they discovered that what was wanted was hard labor at low wages.

They rebelled. Their guns were then taken away from them and they were told to work or they would get a hide full of buckshot. Work! Did you ever hear of heroes working?

My, but they were indignant! However, the guards had the drop on them, and so the heroes fainted. They thought they were to be

cruel interference of the capitalist in the rights of parents?

In a Southern cotton mill this rule is posted:

"All children, members of a family, above twelve years of age, shall work regularly in the mill, and shall not be excused from service therein without the consent of the superintendent, for good cause."

Could the wildest fancy of the anti-Socialists, pretending to describe the despotism that they claim will exist under "State Socialism," paint a blacker tyranny than this?

Capitalism steals the young children out of their mothers' arms, "compels" the parents, against their wish and will, to send their little sons and daughters to labor which are physically, mentally and morally ruinous. And the loud-mouthed capitalist gentlemen who prate about the family and the home, have not one word to say about this real, this actual, this present destruction of the family.

Capitalism is a nest of sins. But its most characteristic and consummate sin is—hypocrisy.

The ranks of the workers engaged in the general strike in Sweden stand firm. No credence should be given to the conflicting and contradictory reports in the capitalist press.

The number of meetings being held in this country in sympathy with the strikers and for the purpose of rendering financial aid is constantly on the increase. The Scandinavian Socialists and trade unionists of Chicago have already collected and forwarded \$1,370. A central committee, composed of delegates from sympathetic organizations has been formed to carry on the work more effectively.

By a recent referendum, Comrade J. A. Chapman, of Willard, was elected state secretary-treasurer of New Mexico, and Lee Wright, of East Las Vegas, was re-

lected as a member of the national committee.

In compiling the presidential election statistics of last fall, National Secretary Barnes of the Socialist party discovered that in Oklahoma there are about a dozen counties in which less than thirty votes each would give the Socialists a plurality."

THE JUNGLE

BY UPTON SINCLAIR

The book that made the whole civilized world talk up and take notice. It showed the people under what wretched conditions the wage-workers work and how filthy their work places are. It is the story that caused President Roosevelt to send a commission to investigate the conditions in the coal mines of West Virginia.

Chicago and the commission found conditions so deplorable that they had to be by the side of the coal miners.

Now let us be practical. You have fallen into the stupid error of supposing that competition is better than co-operation, partly because you have never seen anything but competition in practice, and partly because you have not very clear sight, nor very clear brains.

You know that when a railway company, or a meat company, or a coal company, has a monopoly the public gets worse served than when there are several companies in competition with each other.

And you suppose that because competition beats monopoly therefore competition is better than co-operation.

But if you were not rather slow, John, you might have noticed that co-operation and monopoly are not the same things. Co-operation is the MUTUAL helpfulness of all; monopoly is the plundering of the many by the few.

Give one man a monopoly of the coal mines and coal will go up in price; but miners' wages will not.

There is a great difference between making the mines the property of one man, and making them the property of the whole people.

Now, the Social-Democrats propose to make them the property of the whole people. And they say that if that were done the price of coal would be the natural price. That is to say, it would be the price of the proper keep of the colliers.

Or, for you'll possibly understand this better, being a practical man, they say that the state could work the coal mines better and more cheaply—with less waste of labor—than could a private firm, or a number of firms in competition.

This is because a great deal of the time and energy of the private firms under competition is spent, not in the production and distributing of coal; but in the effort to overreach each other.

And, fortunately, we have one actual example of this existing in the postal department of the state. For it is a fact which no one attempts to deny that the postoffice manages this branch of the national business a great deal better than it could be managed by a number of small firms in competition with each other.

(Continued next week.)

employed as gun men to shoot "hunkies." But the constabulary were on the job and maintained a closed shop.

So, after a day or so of riot and disorder, they trooped back to the good old Bowery, where heroism is appreciated, and the man of action rewarded with free lodging, a cool schooner and lucrative employment at the polling place.

I begin to understand what Mr. Eliot and others of the Civic Federation consider as heroes.

Certainly no man would consider as heroes those underpaid, half-starving, slave-like toilers, who labor twelve hours a day year in and year out, to support their wives and children.

And strikers can't be heroes, because they rebel against their bosses, and belong to unions.

The heroes then must be those men, who, whenever the bosses are in trouble, are perfectly willing to do everything but work to help them out.

Socialists to A.F. of L.

All the old officers are re-elected by the International Bakers and Confectionery Workers' referendum, just closed, and it also is assured that the delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention will both be Socialists. Comrade Christian Kerker of New York, is elected, and a virtual tie between Comrades Henry Koehl of Patterson, N. J., and William Wright of San Francisco, Cal., will be decided by a second referendum, which has been called.

Comrade Kahn got back in triumph the other day and brought in seven tallies to help swell the HERALD's subscription list. If the wind would only blow our way with such velocity all the time.

Do our foreign subscribers re-

new? Well, I guess, Comrade Clarence Clow, of China, sent in his renewal in connection with our premium offer. Dr. Greer's "Physician in the House." He doesn't want to miss a number, either. The HERALD is nearly as popular throughout Europe as it is in America, thanks to our foreign comrades.

One dollar and eighty cents for literature, to be sent to Comrade Hoyer, in New Mexico. That looks good for future results, considering our subscription list throughout New Mexico. I think there will soon be something doing down here.

Comrade Shaw, of Washington, had his strong arm at the wheel, and piloted five new readers over the mountains and through the valleys to the HERALD office in safety. What more can we ask for? Only that it should be kept up.

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Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee

HEADQUARTERS—318 STATE ST.
TELEPHONE—GRAND 1742

Meetings on 1st and 3d Wednesdays (8 P.M.), Froie Gemeinde Hall, Fourth St., Bet. Cedar and State.

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Recording Secretary—FREDERICK HEATY, 318 State St.
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Antonia Miller, V. C. J. Hughes, Treas., J. Heibart, Sec.

BUILDING TRADES SECTION: Meetings 2d and 4th Thursday evenings, 318 State St.
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LABOR CELEBRATES!

Labor Solidarity on Parade—Stirring Address to the Workers by Max Hayes of Cleveland

Max S. Hayes, editor of the *Cleveland Citizen*, and organizer for the International Typographical union, was the speaker at Milwaukee's Labor Day picnic last Monday at Pabst Park.

Organization along industrial and political lines alone can prevent the development of industrial feudalism with the successors of the present day captains of industry as overlords, and the workers as vassals, he told his hearers. He pointed out that even today two-thirds of the producing enterprises of the country are under the control of a few men. Another generation will see all industry dominated by a few with the many completely under their control.

"John D. Rockefeller, the king of 'em all, is the first billionaire in the history of the world; his grandson, now a little boy, will be five times a billionaire at the present rate of increase," said Mr. Hayes. "This little boy is destined to become a more powerful man than any king or potentate ever dreamed of being. For to him shall be given the power to say whether millions of men and women and little children shall have work to do, or bread to eat, or a place whereon to lay their heads."

"Already the trusts and combinations of capital control the manufacturing industries, the mines and the railroads of this country. Unless the onward rush, unless the inevitable and logical development, of the present conditions are checked, what will be the condition fifty or even twenty-five years hence? Any

one may see who cares to stop and think.

"Industrial feudalism is bound to come to this land, if this keeps up. In Rome there came a time when 800 families ruled the world and Rome fell. Greece at one time controlled the commerce of the world and Greece was owned and governed by a per cent. of its population. Greece fell, so did Carthage, so have all the nations of the world where greed and lust for power led the rulers to grind down the people and deprive them of their rights."

Danger Lurking in Trusts
Mr. Hayes said that the doom of this country also is sealed unless the present trend of conditions in the industrial and political life of the nation are checked.

"Already the trusts have reached a period in their development where they pay no attention to the demands of the individual worker. One man or 10,000 men, who have no organization, may plead and threaten until they are hoarse without the slightest effect. 'If you don't like your job, get out and get another,' is the answer to all demands of unorganized workers. We have a cruel example of this phase of modern business methods right under our very eyes, down at McKee's Rocks, where 8,000 men, many of them foreigners, are struggling blindly, hopelessly almost, for a living wage, and are being shot down like dogs in the streets."

"That is why I say to you, who are not members of organized unions, what are you doing to im-

prove your condition, what are you doing for your families or your class? Can't you see that every vote you cast for the capitalists' parties you are driving another rivet into your chains? Can't you see that every blow you strike at your organized fellow-workers, you are making it more difficult for you and your children to obtain better things? As an individual you will receive no attention. Be sure of that. Only as a member of a powerful organization with the ability to wrest your rights from our masters by threatening the sacred dividend, shall you ever be able to get even a hearing."

Says Old Parties Are Alike
After urging the non-union workers to join the unions and help in the movement for better conditions of wages and hours, Mr. Hayes roundly berated union men who support either of the great political parties at the polls.

"Today is the one holiday of the year which a beneficent nation dedicates to the workingman," said Mr. Hayes sarcastically. "If these workingmen for whom our rulers are so solicitous were wise there would be another holiday which would be known as their day, and that is election day. As a matter of fact, there is no fundamental difference between the two old parties. Both are devoted to the perpetuation of the grip which wealth and privilege have upon the vitals of this country. Both put forth loud and golden promises, but where today is the evidence that

(Continued to page 7.)

Poor Mother Capitalist!
ORGANIZE, but keep out of the realm of politics, and you are safe. Let politics enter your organization and you undermine the cornerstone of your structure, and it must fall," said Mayor Rose to the farmers at Escanaba.

"We workers have heard that cry before! It has come down with us through the ages, echoing and re-echoing in the corridors of time. Tyrant and slave-owner, monarch and statesman, pope and prelate, politician and benchman and multifarious what nots, have sung the immortal refrain. 'A Caesar admonished us to avoid politics! A queen once warned us to fly politics!'"

From the dawn of time till now it has been the shibboleth of arrogant rulers, imperious lords and judicial autocrats! Must it even now be dinned into our ears by red-light politicians and brewery representatives? Ruler, capitalist, clergyman, politician—why is this warning stereotyped into every utterance you make to the horny-handed son of toil? Has the man with the hoe, the brother to the ox, evinced a desire to think for himself that you should waste air and energy in restoring him to sanity? Is the industrial child awake? Will it no longer imbibe the homeopathic doses of panic-castoria you have so long administered? Does it no longer gurgle and goo-goo when you give it prosperity gum-drops? Does it no longer cower with delight when you promise to repeat the oft-told tale of Jason and the Golden Fleece? Has it grown tired of hearing you say you would some day, like Jason, beard the sleepless dragon and bear the fleece away—for baby? Has it grown tired of waiting, and sailed its little Argo in quest of the alluring prize? Foolish little Jason! Does he not heed your wail of anguish, ever growing fainter—"Turn back before it is too late!" Ungrateful child! Your grief is heart rending, but it is natural! Jason faces peril and destruction! He can not foil the snare of the Sirens! They will entice him ashore with their sweet voices and destroy him! He cannot sail the treacherous straits! He will be dashed on the rocks of Scylla or Charybdis! He cannot win the Golden Fleece! The sleepless dragon will devour him! He does not hear, he does not see you standing there, shading your eyes with your hands for one more glimpse of his beloved form! Poor mother Capitalist! Grieve not so deeply! It may be better so! What have you to offer that could have induced him to remain? Chattel

slavery? He discarded that with his curls! Scythian? He outgrew that with his knickerbockers! Wage slavery? He repudiated that when he rejected your benign tutelage and sheltering petticoats and sailed away! Is that the mainspring of your grief? Is that why you moan and toss in your delirium? Unselfish mother! Ungrateful child! Cease not your call! Neglect not the warning! Let your lamentations be heard in the four quarters of the earth! He may yet hear! He may heed! He may pause and think and see the error of his ways, and then contrite and conscience-stricken, rush back into your sheltering arms!

Merciful mother! Penitent child! The prodigal has returned! Let us kill the fatted calf.

WANTED—Shoe workers to take notice. The tendency of the times is for a shorter workday. "Nine hours should be enough." Organize for this purpose.

"Socialism Made Plain," by Allen L. Benson, is still the standard Socialist treatise. You can use it to do the things in agitation. It has already run through four editions. This office. 15 cents a copy.

Mrs. Gruener's Piano School

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Offers unsurpassed advantages for the study of piano playing at moderate cost. Brilliant and untroubled faculty. The piano school of the highest standing, patrons from European Conservatories, giving the most thorough education in piano playing. Best methods used. Course of study based on modern, progressive, educational principles.
A Large Proportion of Mrs. Gruener's pupils are themselves teachers.

Wisconsin State Federation of Labor

Milwaukee, Wis., Sept. 1, 1909.
Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, executive board session. Paul Luetten, chairman.
A committee from Coopers' Union No. 30 complained that numerous attempts at a settlement on renewal of their trade agreement with the Milwaukee Brewers' association had failed.
After reviewing the situation, the secretary was instructed to issue a circular to organized labor throughout the state.
Adjourned subject to the call of the secretary.
Fraternal submitted,
Fred Brockhausen,
Secretary.

Professor Charles Bushnell of Washington, D. C. in a recent lecture said: "IN THE PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES OF EUROPE THE SOCIALISTS HAVE NOW SET THE MAIN ISSUE FOR EVERY POLITICAL PARTY. AND IT APPEARS TO BE ONLY A QUESTION OF TIME, AND NOT A VERY DISTANT TIME, WHEN THEY WILL DO SO IN AMERICA."

The gradual rise of the cities of the United States is one of the most interesting and significant things in written history. Socialists should not get on the ground that the cities are the cause of the world's ills. Send it clipped for a copy of "Socialism and the City," by William F. Gardner, this office. Twenty-five cents a dollar.

Fellowship is life and love of fellowship is the most interesting and significant thing in written history. Socialists should not get on the ground that the cities are the cause of the world's ills. Send it clipped for a copy of "Socialism and the City," by William F. Gardner, this office. Twenty-five cents a dollar.

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HARRY SCHIMMEL, 223 Chandler St., Madison, Wis.
R. H. BONKAMY, 1118 Madison St., Eau Claire, Wis.

UNFAIR—WAS IT?
The United States Supreme Court has ordered the Sherman Anti-Trust Law to be enforced against the labor unions. Compliance with the terms of the decision, the "Unfair Law" here before a superior body has been secured. IT'S UP TO YOU!

Wage Earners Wake Up!
Join the Union of your craft and the party of your class. Always demand the UNION LABEL and shop-labor card. Let your habits cast your ballot for emancipation from wage slavery.

UNION HACK DRIVERS.
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The Money-Eating Trade School

Socialist School Directors Mean That It Shall Not Help to Lower the Standard of Wages. Mrs. Berger's Resolution. The Board Adopts a New Rule by Director Heath to Give all Teachers Equal Rights. Our Ideas Are Spreading

The September meeting of the school board took place on Tuesday evening, and again the Social-Democratic members added to their record for constructive work. Outwardly, the meeting was eventless, there being an absence of the sharp debates that marked the meeting of August. But in the matter of measures introduced it was a most profitable session.

Most important of the proposals of the Social-Democratic members was the following resolution, introduced by Director Berger:

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the School Board be and he is hereby instructed to prepare for presentation at the next regular meeting of this board a proposed rule to govern the pupils of the Trade School in the following manner:

All pupils entering the school to be required to sign a contract similar to the apprenticeship agreement

which is used in the large manufacturing establishments, binding the person so contracting to take the full course of instruction, and further providing that upon graduation or completion of the course the said pupil shall have remitted to him the full amount of the monthly fees he

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC SCHOOL DIRECTORS: Meta Berger, Frederic Heath, Henry C. Knaese, Annie Gordon Whitnall.

has been required to pay toward cost of material used. Provided, also, that in deserving cases, where pupil is unable to pay, the fees may be remitted at the start.

The importance of this will be comprehended when it is stated that the Trade School has been operated two years, at a cost of \$80,000 (\$40,000 a year!) and has only graduated a dozen pupils. The cost per graduated pupil is, therefore, seen to be an excessive squandering of the people's money. For Milwaukee to spend over six thousand dollars to graduate a pupil in the Trade School is a thing to be seriously considered. Of course, other pupils received instruction, and it is not wholly fair to measure the value of the school by those who have actually graduated, but even on this point the situation is alarming, for it is known that large numbers of boys enter the school, get a few rudiments, and are then lured away by manufacturers, who can use them in the places of higher paid men. These deserting pupils thus cause a social injury by tending to lower the rate of wages and, therefore, the standard of citizenship of workers in the mechanical industries.

Not Now a Success

The Trade School is established by a state law. A number of manufacturers in Milwaukee started it for personal reasons. They ran it a spell and then loaded it on the city. The city was forced to pay \$17,000 for it, and to assume a debt against it of \$9,000. It has been a sink-hole for money ever since.

The Socialists are not opposed to the school. They want to make it efficient. Hence Mrs. Berger's resolution. By obliging pupils to contract to stay in the school after they enter, just as, for instance, pupils at the normal schools have to contract to teach when they have graduated, one great objection will be met. Also by offering a pupil the return of the fees he has paid, at the end of his tuition (the sum would amount to about \$40 or \$80, according to the term of study taken) the pupil will have an inducement to keep on.

Director Berger's resolution would have been sent to the Trade School committee, which is composed of persons outside the board, but she objected, saying she wanted the resolution acted on under the eyes of the board, and it was sent to the committee on course of instruction.

To Stop a Bad Practice

Another important measure was introduced by Director Whitnall, as follows:

RESOLVED, That there be added to the rules of the board the following:

All propositions to be acted upon by the board must first be presented in writing at a regular board meeting—save in the case of a special meeting regularly called for a specific purpose—and then sent to committee for consideration where necessary. No legislation shall be initiated in committee.

There is continual complaint on

the part of the members of the board that matter requiring their action is constantly springing in committee, reported on, and then brought before the board for action when the directors have no opportunity to consider it, and are often forced to vote in ignorance and without due reflection.

It is a bad and a dangerous practice, and would not be tolerated in any other legislative body. The resolution was sent to committee.

Wants Statistics of Truancy

In order to secure adequate statistical knowledge upon which future consideration of the truancy problem may be based, Director Heath introduced the following:

Amend Art XVI by adding to Sec. 3, relating to truancy officers, the following:

1. Length of time in months or years that child has received instruction, and in what school or schools.

2. Schooling received by each parent, where, at what schools, and extent.

3. Age at which each parent began wage work or other employment, and kinds of work. Also number of hours worked each day in such employment.

Want All Treated Alike

Principal Rissman, the efficient head of the South Side High School, has been failing in health lately, his malady being an affection of the brain. It was proposed to grant him five months' leave of absence, and to ignore the rules and donate to him, from the treasury, the amount of his salary for the five months, in order to try to regain his health. The Social-Democrats opposed this procedure, because it was a special privilege that would not be extended to an ordinary teacher. When it was time to open the meeting Tuesday evening, the directors were called in to a room and in a sort of executive session the proposal was made that some harmonious action be decided on before the matter should be taken up in the public meeting. It was decided to adopt two resolutions offered by Director Heath, the first one being to amend the rules (under suspension of the rules) as follows:

1. Principals and teachers absent from school on account of personal illness shall be allowed half pay for not more than twenty days in any school year; for absence beyond twenty days, no allowance shall be made except that teachers who have been in the service of the board for more than twelve years without leave of absence on half pay, shall upon recommendation of the Committee on Examination and Appointment, be allowed by the board leave of absence with half pay for a period not to exceed three months, or those who have similarly served twenty years shall be given five months absence with full pay when such absence is caused by severe personal illness certified by two physicians to be selected by the board besides the family physician.

WHEREAS, The condition of Principal Rissman of the South Side High School is such as to make a rest imperative, after having taught faithfully for more than twenty years in the Milwaukee schools, not only without loss of time but giving to the service long hours and much gratuitous effort, therefore

RESOLVED, That Edward Rissman be hereby given leave of absence for five months at full pay.

These were offered at the proper time by Director Heath, and were unanimously adopted.

As an instance of how the Social-Democrats educate the masses to their ideas, attention may be

called to a communication received at Tuesday evening's meeting from C. E. Estabrook, asking that the board provide that principals of schools devote some of their time to teaching. The idea was introduced from the platform of the Social-Democrats, and it goes without saying that the Social-Democratic members will heartily support the measure both before the committee and when it comes before the board.

Principal Perry, who has been in charge of the Trade School, and who has been put in charge of the work of correlating the manual training, the domestic science and the trade school work, was given a raise of salary, and new teachers for the Trade School selected.

Exchange of School Books

In Answer to Several Inquirers: The only books on which exchange is still allowed are the arithmetics and grammars. The exchange on readers expired last December.

By the way, the newspaper reports of the school board meeting Tuesday evening, were a disgrace to journalism. If this is the way the papers handle their reporters, our sympathies go out to the reporters.

Town Topics by the Town Crier

Going to take in the Social-Democratic field day? If not, why not!

Some of the newspaper items about marriages at the Zoo are a trifle indecent, to say the least.

We don't wonder that the water power pirates who have been feathering their nests from the property of the people these many years should set up a cry of distress now that the light is beating in upon them.

We call attention to some facts about the Trade School in the report of Tuesday evening's school board meeting, which will be found in another column. The true situation has been pretty guardedly kept from the people.

The administration seems to find it harder and harder to hold off the purchase by the city of Schiltz Park. But the eyes of the people are upon it and they are getting a clear idea of who are on the right side of the proposition.

The school board, Tuesday, did the fitting thing toward Principal Rissman, who has broken down in the harness, but it did it in the proper way. All other teachers who have served as long may now expect equally considerate treatment.

Milwaukee Social-Democrats will learn with pleasure that Comrade Harry E. Briggs, late of the Westinghouse establishment, Pittsburgh, has been chosen a teacher of draughtsmanship for the Trade School, and that he will return to Milwaukee in a few weeks.

Next week the people who helped make a little god of Taft will have the chance to worship their own creation. They may think he is their president, after the way of governmental superstitions, but the big capitalists know who he belongs to, you may be sure.

The Free Press devotes an editorial to the man Milwaukee elected mayor a year ago last spring, and who has been serving everybody else but the city ever since. But absentee mayors seems to be Milwaukee's fate. She has tried both the old parties with like results. The Social-Democrats will give Milwaukee a mayor who will actually attend to business and earn

National Avenue

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Special Offering for Monday, September 13

Men's Heavy Gray Wool Underwear, Regular 85c Value, All Sizes, Monday **59c**

Just Received Another Shipment of those Beautiful 25c Four-in-hand Ties. We put them on Sale Monday at **15c**

TEAMSTERS

We Will Sell You a Muleskin One Finger Unlined Mitten, generally sold at 35c, Monday . . . **15c**

Carney's horrible suspicions about the terrible crime of caucusing.

"All The Time Rosey"

Permit us to hold our sides from laughter! Really, the antics of the average political faker are comical in the extreme, if you have only sense of humor enough to appreciate it. But Rose is not an average faker.

Listen to this, now! Dave Rose, professional anti-Prohibitionist for the money there is in it, was out in Idaho the other day. And this is what he said to the Idaho Statesman:

"Personally, I DO NOT DRINK INTOXICATING DRINKS, although I have in years gone by." Milwaukeeans can well remember those "years gone by," we guess, and not very far gone by, either, when Dave was frequently as boozey as a boiled owl! But that is not the point. The point is this—what kind of a game is Dave coming on his employers, the brewery lords?

Dave goes around fighting total abstinence, YET HE CONFESSES HE IS A TOTAL ABSTAINER HIMSELF—the angelic rogue!

Is this taking money under false pretenses—or, what is it?

"Dope"

A large number of one readers, have taken in the show at the Majestic, this week, to see Comrade Joseph Medill Patterson's playlet, called Dope, but to the rest we give this advice: There are still too more performances, and you will do well to take advantage of that fact. Dope is as cutting as any of Bernard Shaw's plays, and as merciless in its exposure of things which capitalism likes to hide from view as a play of Ibsen's. The audience sit spell-bound, and the lessons driven home, the seed planted, cannot fail to do good missionary work. The playlet shows the class that is the real culprit in society. A redlight district drug store that dispenses drugs to dope fiends is the scene of the story. A young man and a girl from the ultra fashionable districts come in upon a reforming expedition, catch the druggist red-handed in selling the dope to the most pitiful of victims, minors as well as others, and call for the police. Then the power back of it all is dragged to the light. The girl's mother owns the property, and has raised the rent

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Admission: Free. Children Under 12, Accompanied by Parents, Free. Ladies Free to Park Friday Afternoon. Dancing Saturday and Sunday Evenings. PICTURES—Saturday, Tyrolean Singers. Sunday, Liederkreis Society.

as fast as the dope-dealer's business has increased, and the young man discovers that the wholesale drug firm, from which his family draws its sustenance, not only supplies the druggist with the dope, but does all it can to encourage his increasing patronage. At the close of the play the two reformers have dismissed the police, and are asking mercy and silence from the disreputable proprietor.

It is a keen thrust at the hypocrisy of modern commercialism. The dialogue is crisp and direct, no padding, no flub-dub sentiment, nothing to distract from the vividness of the exposure of a great social iniquity. The playlet does not make a hero of the conscienceless druggist, but it shows that he is only part of a system and that the eminently respectable of trade get the big profits and hide behind him from the just scorn of the public. The theater has been crowded this week, and the play has made a deep impression.

Comrades, do your shopping at the places of our advertisers, and let them know why you buy there.

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STARTING SUNDAY MATINEE

Mort. H. Slater Presents the Quality Musical Play

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Prices: Mat., Sun., Wed. and Sat. 25c, 50c, 75c and \$1.00. Nights 25c, 50c, 75c and \$1.00. Four Rows at \$1.50. To Follow, Eddie Foy in MR. HAMLET OF BROADWAY

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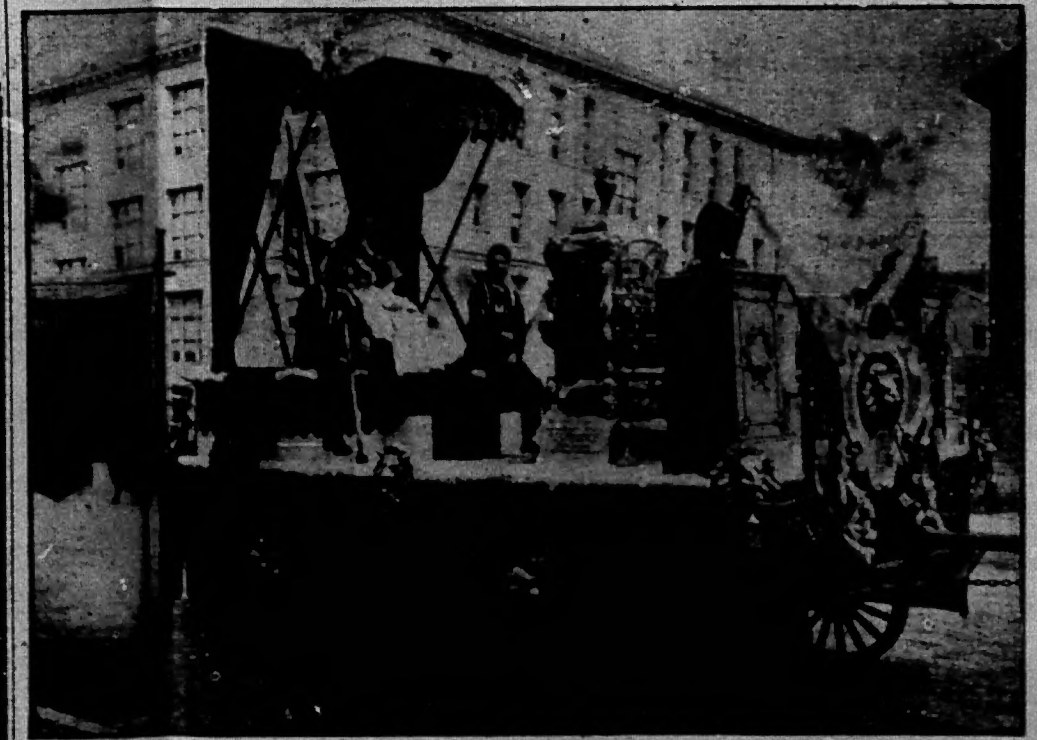
See the "Dance of Death"

Boys—You Can't Miss This One

CRYSTAL

Peter the Great

AND OTHER ACTS



The above picture shows the float of Molders' Union No. 166 in the Labor Day parade, exhibiting one of the Brand Stove Co.'s Famous baseburners, which was donated by this firm and, in turn, was given away by the union at the Labor Day picnic. Tickets were handed out free by members of the union to every one entering the park, which entitled the holder to a chance on the stove drawing. This stove was made by union molders, as this firm employs only union molders, and in all the years of this firm's existence never had any trouble with its molders. Therefore, this union took especial great pride to present this attractive and artistic float, which was drawn by four horses, covered by beautiful blankets bearing in large gilt letters the firm's name. The sides of the float were covered with gold braid, and in the rear of the wagon a high canopy gave the whole a throne-like effect. This beautiful baseburner, which was shown on the float to such good advantage and greatly admired by the many thousands that saw it, was won by William Baumann, 1720 Cold Spring avenue, who held ticket number 9858.

Socialist Singing Societies Day

Social-Democratic Base Ball Park

Cor. Howell and Schiller Aves. (South Side)

Following Socialist Teams Will Play

B. & B. Coming Nations vs. S.-D. Herald

21st Ward S.D. vs. 17th Ward S.D.

Tomorrow
Sept. 12th

One Admission 15c
Grand Stand 10c Extra

First Game 2:15 P. M.
Second Game 3:45 P. M.

NOW LET US ALL TURN OUT AND GIVE THE SOCIALIST SINGERS

A GRAND RECEPTION. BE SURE TO BRING THE LADIES ALONG

Don't Forget the **Monster S.-D. Field Day, Sunday, Sept. 19**
If You Want to Enjoy Yourself, Don't Fail to Attend